THE
NATION

SEPTEMBER 13, 1958 . . 25c

SCIENCE AND HOPE

Essays by

C. P. Snow and Philip Siekevitz

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THE LORD AND JOHN FOSTER DULLES

Charles F. Edmundson

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LETTERS

No Comeback

Dear Sirs: The excellent article, "Jimmy Hoffa's Comeback," by B. J. Widick [*The Nation*, August 16] deserves some updating. Mr. Widick thought Mr. Hoffa's "most important challenge to the AFL-CIO was the progress he was making toward establishment of a united labor front in the transportation industry." That progress has since been stopped dead in its tracks. The important Railroad Brotherhoods, Marine Engineers and Airline Employee unions have turned down invitations, while charter-member Bill Bradley (ILA) has recently assured Easterners he does not mean to cooperate with fellow charter-member and lone fellow-traveler Harry Bridges (ILWU). Finally, Joe Curran (NMU), the one AFL-CIO member, is now under official AFL-CIO pressure to abandon his role in Hoffa's unhappy "paper" organization.

Mr. Widick suggested that an attempt by Mr. Meany to force affiliates to abandon Teamster pacts was "not likely to get much enthusiastic support." The recent Labor Executive Council vote has proven otherwise, however, with all but Joe Curran among AFL-CIO officers voting in favor of Mr. Meany's position. Indeed, the AFL-CIO went further than any expected, and ordered local and state bodies to expel teamster members who had obtained cards in acceptable unions in an effort to hold AFL-CIO posts.

In sum, between the publication of Mr. Widick's article and the writing of this letter (Aug. 25), circumstances warrant changing Mr. Widick's title from "Jimmy Hoffa's Comeback" to "Hoffa's Continuing Defeat."

ARTHUR B. SHOSTAK

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Progress for Arabs?

Dear Sirs: Your editorial "What Now?" of August 2 contains a number of references to the State of Israel and evokes the following observations: You write "it was largely at our initiative that the State of Israel, which continues to radiate progressive influence throughout the Middle East, was established." It is perhaps possible to consider progress as a purely internal phenomenon of a society, e.g., by comparing the conditions in that society at two points of time. But to "radiate progress" implies at least a two-sided relationship, a sender and a receiver. . . . Is it reasonable to claim that the white man in the Western hemisphere radiated progress among the American Indians? . . . If the creation of the State of Israel has created a trauma among the Arabs so that they see everything red — and this is an undeniable fact — can they have the proper receptivity to the rays of progress coming out of Israel?

Let us raise another question. How did Israel become progressive, democratic, and so on? Obviously it is not the influence of "backward Jews" that the State of Israel hopes to in-gather from the Arab and other lands. It would be futile to claim that the progressive nature of Israel is a direct result and a prerogative of Judaic religion and tradition. Is it not obvious that Israel is what it is because it is a European state? . . . This is stated not as a criticism . . . but once this fact is admitted, is it possible not to sympathize with the Arab charges that Israel is basically a European bridgehead in their midst, and to recognize what this means to them in the light of their past relations with Europe? . . .

A. KESSEL

Chicago, Ill.

America's Albatross

Dear Sirs: Conformity, as suggested by Fred Harris' letter (*The Nation*, April 19), is not only labor's albatross; its deadening hand is destroying the democratic process in the United States. Harris' solution of a two-party setup in unions is a good one. With 55 years of continuous active membership in the International Typographical Union, I can testify to its effectiveness. . . .

Labor unions' greatest need is rank-and-file control of international as well as local unions. I was a proofreader on the 1954 AFL convention proceedings and urged ITU delegates to introduce a resolution requesting the AFL and all affiliated unions to adopt democratic procedures similar to but not necessarily the same as the ITU's. . . . Our AFL delegates said the ITU was respected but we were regarded as "queer." Imagine, "queer" to be democratic! . . . Last year I campaigned for ITU convention delegates on this issue and added another "queer" idea — adoption by the ITU of absentee ballot voting, one of California's best election laws. I did not get to first base.

AFL-CIO President Meany, according to the press, now requires newly-chartered unions to hold elections at least every two years and adopt other democratic measures. I envisage the day when AFL-CIO officers and policies will be directed by all its members through referenda instead of by a self-perpetuating hierarchy. That's how the ITU functions more efficiently than any organization of which I have knowledge.

FRED S. GABLE

Orange, Calif.

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

121 ●

ARTICLES

124 ● SCIENCE AND HOPE
The Future of Man
by C. P. SNOW

126 ● The Man of the Future
by PHILIP SIEKEVITZ

128 ● The Wave of November
by HARRY BARNARD

131 ● The Lord and John Foster Dulles
by CHARLES F. EDMUNDSON

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

134 ● The Progress of Pasternak
by DAVID MAGARSHACK

135 ● Little Time and No Defense
by D. F. FLEMING

135 ● In the Morning You Always Come Back (poem)
by NORMAN THOMAS DI GIOVANNI

136 ● Ballad of the Ikendick (poem)
by JOHN CIARDI

137 ● Some Marrying and Some Burning
by DILYS LAING

138 ● Strangers (poem)
by ELIZABETH JENNINGS

139 ● Mathematics of the Brain
by MAX BLACK

140 ● Army Game
by ERIC PEARL

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 140)
by FRANK W. LEWIS

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1958
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THE NATION

EDITORIALS

Deaf, Dumb, Blind

The remarkable thing about the Quemoy crisis is not that the State Department is staggering drunkenly toward another diplomatic defeat or, possibly, an atomic war. Such behavior has been habitual with this particular State Department and is to be expected. What becomes more and more amazing is that the American public tolerates the utter folly of our China policy as if it were something beyond human control, like an incurable disease. Even among the highly placed and influential, except for a few alert critics like Walter Lippmann, Wayne Morse and Herblock, not a murmur is raised in dissent. Somnambulism prevails. This would be strange anywhere: in a country which has always boasted of its democratic curbs on the arrogance (and stupidity) of elected (and appointed) persons, it is incredible — but it exists.

One searches in vain for some rationale, however tortured and twisted, for our official attitude toward China. A moral one, perhaps? If anyone ever entertained a notion so naive, it was blown to bits by our incontinent recognition of the new Iraqi Government, its hands still red with the blood of the duly constituted monarch. Of course these murderers had oil and popular support; still our speedy acceptance of their regime disposed of the idea that we were squeamish about whom we recognized, or even that we would allow a decent interval to elapse.

Military considerations provide no better explanation. For a few wretched islands so close to the China coast that small craft can blockade them and light artillery can keep them under continuous bombardment, we have deployed the Seventh Fleet and its reinforcements, consisting of seven carriers, three heavy cruisers, forty destroyers, four submarines and twenty support vessels. To the 500 aircraft thus provided we are prepared to add materiel based on Guam and Okinawa. All this is for islands which Chiang Kai-shek himself, when he was fatuously "unleashed" by the Eisenhower Administration, declared to be too vulnerable to defend. If in military affairs the means have some relation to the end, the most callow subaltern would withhold such forces from such a purpose.

Diplomatically, our insistence on holding the islands simply increases our alienation from our allies, who have no stomach for an atomic war in a minuscule cause. Economically, it strengthens the ties between the Chinese Reds and their Russian allies, putting a strain on the present Russian economy, to be sure, but one which may well pay dividends in the future. And, finally, we come to the political aspects, which sum up to nothing more substantial than Mr. Dulles' obsession that Red rule over China will pass, like a bad dream.

Why should it? How can it? The Toronto *Globe and Mail*, advertising in American newspapers in an effort to beat some sense into the insentient, points out that Chiang's "twenty-two years of power were marked by wholesale foreign invasion and occupation, by an almost unbroken course of national disaster and humiliation. The Chinese do not want to see him — still less, help him — return." The *Globe and Mail* likens our support of Chiang's decaying regime to hailing some emigré Grand Duke as the legitimate Czar of Russia.

If there is anyone who can dissuade Mr. Dulles from his suicidal obstinacy, now is the time to try. At this juncture the Chinese Reds might settle for a lifting of the blockade, a cessation of Chiang's flights over the mainland, neutralization of the islands and Formosa under U.N. trusteeship as a kind of pre-mortem mausoleum for Chiang and the Kuomintang — and membership in the United Nations. If Adlai Stevenson came out for some such solution, he might be heard. Some successor to Mr. Dulles may be glad to settle on such relatively honorable and innocuous terms, but unless the American people and their leaders bestir themselves now, the eventual settlement may be much more painful.

SEP 12 '58 N.Y.

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Clio and the Court

A distinguished contemporary journal, *Newsweek*, purports to find a parallel between Governor Orval Faubus' defiance of the Supreme Court and certain remarks which Abraham Lincoln made at the time of the Dred Scott decision. "Then it was the North," editorialized *Newsweek*, "that refused to accept a Court decision, today it is the South. But the issue is the same: Whether the people will, or will not, obey the Supreme Court." In a superficial sense, any defiance of the Court is like any other defiance; a rose is a rose. And were it not for a curious lapsed sense of history which the desegregation controversy continues to reveal, it would be arid pedantry to point out that the issue faced by Chief Justice Roger Taney was not quite the same as that faced by Chief Justice Earl Warren. Taney was interpreting a Constitution that was silent on the rights of Negroes; Warren has in his hands a Constitution fortified by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments (the Civil War was fought to put them there), which reversed the Dred Scott decision and made those rights unarguable. What has happened, one wonders, to those "mystic chords of memory" which Lincoln believed would "yet swell to the chorus of the Union"? Did the memory of the Civil War expire with the last veteran? At times, through sheer lapse of memory, we act as though we had repudiated our own history.

Tax Bonanza

California's public utilities have set the stage for a multi-million-dollar rate battle which has nation-wide implications. The utilities are asking for an increase based on taxes they do *not* pay. This statement may sound a bit far-fetched, even for an industry which is managed by notably inventive executives, but the facts sustain it. Like most utilities, California's Pacific Gas & Electric Company, taking advantage of the accelerated (five-year) tax amortization program, has expanded facilities rapidly in the post-war period. Under this program, a utility obviously pays less in federal taxes during the five years of inflated depreciation than it would under normal depreciation schedules. But P. G. & E. argues that, for rate fixing purposes, the fast tax write-off should be ignored. The argument assumes that eventually tax payments will "even out."

The facts in the California case expose a major fallacy in the argument. In an expanding economy, and notably in a state expanding as rapidly as California, the tax payments of the utilities somehow just never seem to "even out" in this theoretical fashion, for new power facilities are constantly needed. No sooner is one new installation completed than construction starts on the next. In a word, the day of reckoning never arrives because plant replacements tend to exceed normal plant retirements for obsolescence. Apart from this, a major purpose of public utility regulation — in theory, that is — is to see to it that economies in operation are passed on to the consumer in the form of reduced rates. California's Attorney General Edmund G. Brown — the Democratic nominee for governor — insists that P. G. & E. should be forced to reduce rates, not raise them, as long as it is enjoying the advantages of accelerated tax amortization. A bonanza is at stake in the hearings which open in Los Angeles on September 24. Three states — Indiana, Oklahoma and Kentucky — have allowed rate increases based on the "phantom tax" concept, but six states — Maine, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico and Pennsylvania — have rejected similar applications. The California case may well determine the course of decision in other states.

At the inception of the tax amortization program, *The Nation* pointed out that the utility companies, which were even then flooding Washington with applications for tax amortization certificates, would eventually contend that tax gains should not be taken into consideration in fixing rates. [See "Taxes Into Profits: $25 Billion Bonanza" by Bruce Catton, *The Nation*, April 11, 1953.] At that time, we stated that the basic issue was, "Who ought eventually to get the benefits of tax deferral — stockholders, or taxpayers and consumers?" It is still a good question.

From Trafalgar To Reykjavik

The Royal Navy, whose mission it once was to insure that Britons never would be slaves, has now been ordered by a British Government to bully Iceland into withdrawing its prohibition against trawlers fishing within 12 miles of Iceland's shores. Such disputes are the rule rather than the exception in certain areas of the commercial fishing industry. The United States has had trouble in Mexican and Peruvian waters, Japan in Russian and Korean waters, and so on. But the British will not add to their international renown by this action, for all that the Admiralty has made some effort to keep the conflict bloodless.

Iceland claims that foreign trawlers working the waters close to Iceland's shores have been ruining the fishing grounds, which are vital to the national economy. The Scandinavian countries, West Germany and the Soviet Union decided to comply with the new law. The British ordered armed frigates to accompany their trawlers and flout it.

Iceland has no army, navy, or air force — in this respect, as well as in several others, it may claim to be one of the most civilized of nations. It does, however, have a coast guard. Several clashes, bordering on violence, have occurred, and there is always the possibility that bloodshed (or drownings) may mar the opera bouffe aspect of this limited war.

English fishing would undoubtedly suffer grievously from Iceland's sudden shift from a 3-mile to a 12-mile

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limit, and Her Majesty's Government is probably miffed by Reykjavik's refusal to consider a 6-mile compromise. Nevertheless, those who admire the Anglo-Saxon tradition of support for the underdog find themselves on the side of the Icelanders. The descendants of Nelson, Drake and Beatty cannot win an honorable battle against a pocket-sized coast guard, and Westminster should find some less embarrassing way of settling the issue.

Conservative Vigor

Mr. John Hay Whitney has acquired control of the New York *Herald Tribune* and proposes to build upon the *Tribune's* traditions as "an independent Republican newspaper." He has assumed responsibility for the paper at a time when, in an already shrinking field, organizations like International News Service, the Cincinnati *Times-Star,* the Tampa *Times* and the New Orleans *Item* have suspended or are about to do so. But Mr. Whitney has a reputation for knowing what he is doing and of being able to find men who can carry on his enterprises efficiently and profitably.

We do not share the belief that the pace of social change in this country is so rapid as to make the conservative position irrelevant; conservatism is a permanent part of the political landscape. However, the pace of change in the United States does impose special burdens on conservative leadership. In recent years, the conservative position has too often been made to seem irrelevant because, through default in leadership, it has been mistakenly confused with a right-wing know-nothingism with which it has nothing in common. We are confident that under Mr. Whitney's direction a revitalized *Herald Tribune* will state the conservative position with vigor, intelligence and courage. We wish him well.

De Gaulle on Safari

Paris, Sept. 5 (by cable)

General de Gaulle, quite pointedly, opened his campaign for the referendum to endorse a new constitution on the anniversary of the foundation of the Third Republic and in the Place de la République, center of working-class Paris. So far, France has been quiet, seemingly indifferent, rather assuming that de Gaulle will get his majority. But now that summer vacations are over, some hard head-scratching has started. One conclusion that is becoming increasingly obvious is that the referendum on the constitution is a misnomer for a plebiscite on de Gaulle's personal leadership. His prestige is unquestionably great throughout the country, and that is the biggest factor favoring a majority (yes) vote. Otherwise the vote is on a mixed collection of issues for which a simple "yes" or "no" would be senseless. For example, the public is asked to cast one vote saying whether it wishes to change the constitution for France proper, the relationship between France and its Black-African possessions, and the relations between France and Algeria.

French liberals have been favorably impressed by de Gaulle's trip to Madagascar and Central West Africa. Here he seemed to be moving with the times and the "Africa France community" is a conception which enjoys substantial support in these areas — though considerably less in West African Guinea and in Senegal where at Dakar there were violent demonstrations for "immediate independence." There the triple influence of appalling economic conditions, Moslem and Algerian nationalist propaganda, and the example of Ghana made themselves felt. Nevertheless, and despite his implied warning that a "no" vote would mean secession and a cutting off of economic aid, the general effect of de Gaulle's tour was good. This is fully realized by the European extremists in Algiers, who gave de Gaulle his most frigid reception. The city was plastered with hostile posters put up by local Fascist thugs with the obvious connivance of Fascist colonels. Nor was de Gaulle's Algiers broadcast, in which he failed to use the magic words "integration of French Algeria," appreciated; still less the report of his private remark that he would like to see some extreme Moslem nationalists elected from Algeria so that they could become valid negotiators in working out a settlement. The Algerian situation, therefore, remains extremely confused, the Moslems' vote will in all likelihood be completely "cooked," and de Gaulle's possible peace plans sabotaged by *colon* extremists with the help of part of the army.

De Gaulle's opponents comprise the Communists, and some of the Socialists and Radicals. The Catholic M.R.P., the Church, as well as all conservatives and Fascists are pro-de Gaulle. The Socialists are split, with Mollet naturally pro and Pineau anti. The biggest area of doubt continues to be the countryside, notably in the Republican south. The strongest trump card de Gaulle could play would be a firm promise of peace in Algeria. But such a commitment would be dangerous in view of the attitudes of the Algerian Europeans who have their army accomplices. The strongest argument used against de Gaulle is that the constitution is likely to outlive him and, while he may be a sincere Republican, who will be his successor? The strongest argument in his favor, especially with the wobblers, is the threat of a renewal of May's civil war or a paratroop dictatorship which might seize France if de Gaulle acted on his always implicit threat to retire.

The next weeks will show whether the relatively feeble de Gaulle opposition and the innate critical sense of the French people are sufficiently strong to combat the conformist press, the quasi-monopolist radio and the "Soustellevision" propaganda. In any case, "referendum" is scarcely the word.

ALEXANDER WERTH

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Science and Hope

1. THE FUTURE OF MAN . . *by C. P. Snow*

AUSCHWITZ and Hiroshima. We have seen all that; in some of it we have acquiesced or helped. No wonder we are morally guilty. Men like ourselves have done such things — and at the same time men like ourselves, sometimes the same men who have taken a hand in the horrors, have been showing more concern for the unlucky round them than has ever been shown by a large society in human history. That is the moral paradox in which we have to live.

It is wrong to try to domesticate the horrors. The mass slaughter of the concentration camps was both the most awful and the most degrading set of actions that men have done so far. This set of actions was ordered and controlled by abnormally wicked men, if you like, but down the line the orders were carried out by thousands of people like the rest of us, civil servants, soldiers, engineers, all brought up in an advanced Western and Christian society. While it was people not like the rest of us but a great deal better, people who for imagination and morality, not to speak of intellect, stand among the finest of our race, people like Einstein, Niels Bohr and Franck, who got caught up in the tangle of events which led to Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The dropping of those bombs was of a lesser order of wickedness from what was done at Auschwitz. But Western man ought not to forget that he did it; Eastern man certainly won't.

At the same time we ought not to forget what there is to our credit. Some kinds of optimism about man's nature are dangerous — but so are some kinds of pessimism. Think of the care the Swedes and the Danes are taking of their old and poor, or of prisoners, or of social misfits. Nothing like that has been done at any period or in any place until our lifetime. We can congratulate ourselves in Britain, too. The Scandinavians have not made anything like a perfect society. In some ways we have not got as near to it as they have. But we have both made a better shot at it than anyone before us.

IN A TIME when impotence and despair are the prevailing attitudes for scanning the future, C. P. Snow, novelist and one of England's most eminent scholars of science, offers a syllogism of hope for the future of the human species. Following this "proof" that all is not lost, Philip Siekevitz, a biochemist of extraordinary social imagination, describes in laboratory terms a discovery that will in all probability be the most fateful in the history of human adventure. Like all discoveries, the revolution in biology which Dr. Siekevitz outlines brings with it new problems —since it may be the greatest discovery, it may also present the greatest problems. It can destroy us or it can remake us in terms beyond our present power to comprehend. "Men like gods"—the concept terrifies, but it is, says Dr. Siekevitz, now almost at our fingertips.

Britain is a much fairer and a much kinder society than the one I was born into in 1905. It may seem sentimental to have consciences troubled about capital punishment, about removing one life when Western man has recently eliminated twenty million: yet it is a sign of moral sensitivity. So is the attempt, however grudging, to treat women as though they were equal human beings. So is the feeling behind the Wolfenden Report. So is the conviction — so urgent in the United States — that children have a special right to happiness.

Some of these feelings may lead to practical follies (I believe that the American one is making a mess of their education), but that is not the point. They are signs of a development of something very rare in the world up to now, which one might call moral kindness. I have no doubt that in Scandinavia, England, some, though not all, of the United States, and perhaps three or four other countries in the West, the amount of fairness, tolerance and effective kindness within the society would seem astonishing to any nineteenth-century man.

It would also seem astonishing to any nineteenth-century man how much we know. There is probably no one now alive as clever as Clerk Maxwell or Gauss; but thousands of people know more than Clerk Maxwell or Gauss, and understand more of those parts of the world that they spent their lives trying to understand. Put those two down, or even greater men, such as Newton and Archimedes, in front of what is now understood — and they would think it wonderful. So it is, and we can take pride and joy in it. It will go on; the search to understand is one of the most human things about us. Compared with our ancestors, there are some trivial physical differences. We are a good deal taller and heavier, we live much longer. But above all, we know more.

ALL THIS it would be reasonable to call progress, so long as we don't expect of progress more than it can give. In each of our individual lives there is, of course, something beyond human help. Each of us has to live part of his life alone: and he has to die alone. That part of our experience is right outside of time and history, and progress has no meaning there. In this sense, the individual condition is tragic. But that is no excuse for not doing our best with the social condition.

To think otherwise, to take refuge in facile despair, has been the characteristic intellectual treachery of our day. It is shoddy. We have to face the individual condition: for good and evil, for pettiness and the occasional dash of grandeur, we have to know what men are capable of: and then we can't contract out. For we are part, not only of the privileged North European-British American *enclave* of progress, but of an-

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other progress which is altering the whole world.

I mean something brutally simple. Most people in Asia still haven't enough to eat: but they have a bit more than before. Most people in Asia are still dying before their time (on the average, Indians live less than half as long as Englishmen): but they are living longer than before. Is *that* progress? This is not a subject to be superior or refined or ingenious about, and the answer is: *of course it is.*

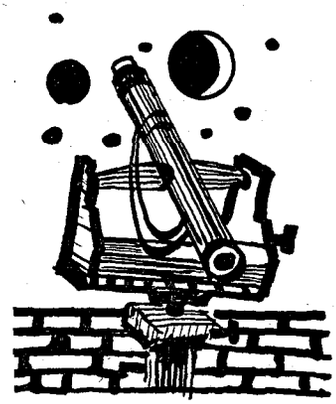
It is because Western man has grown too far away from that elemental progress that we can't get on terms with most of the human race. Through luck we got in first with the scientific-industrial revolution; as a result, our lives became, on the average, healthier, longer, more comfortable to an extent that had never been imagined; it doesn't become us to tell our Chinese and Indian friends that that kind of progress is not worth having.

WE KNOW what it is like to live among the shops, the cars, the radios, of Leicester and Orebro and Des Moines. We know what it is like to ask the point of it all, and to feel the Swedish sadness or the American disappointment or the English Welfare State discontent. But the Chinese and Indians would like the chance of being well-fed enough to ask what is the point of it all. They are in search of what Leicester, Orebro and Des Moines take for granted, food, extra years of life, modest comforts. When they have got these things, they are willing to put up with a dash of the Swedish sadness or American disappointment. And their determination to get them is likely in the next thirty years to prove the strongest social force on earth.

Will they get them? Will the social conditions everywhere reach within foreseeable time something like the standard of the privileged Western enclave? There is no technical reason why not. If it does, the level of moral kindness will go up in parallel. These ought to be realistic hopes. There seems only one fatality that might destroy them. That is, it goes without saying, an H-bomb war.

No one can pretend that it is not possible. For myself, I think that it won't happen—even though we have seen how good and conscientious men have become responsible for horrors, even though two atomic bombs have been dropped already, and by Western man. But I still think, partly as a guess, partly as a calculation, that we shall escape the H-bomb war — just as I think we shall escape the longer-term danger of Malthusian overpopulation.

It may easily be that I am letting



hope run away with me about the H-bomb war. Some of the wisest disagree with me. Let us imagine that they are right and that the H-bombs go off. Is that going to be the end? I find it difficult to believe. In England a lot of us would be dead, our children with us. A lot of Americans and Russians would also be killed outright. No one knows how many would die afterwards through effects of radiation. But I don't believe that men have at present the resources to destroy the race.

If that is so, and if after an H-bomb war a viable fraction of the world population were left untouched (my guess is that it would be a large fraction, at least two-thirds), then we should all be amazed how soon hope of progress took possession again. The human species is biologically a very tough one, and tough in a sense no animal species can be, through its intelligence, its organization of knowledge, the capacity of its members not to be totally bound within the rapacious self. After the most hideous H-bomb war, the inhabitants of Africa and India and South America would have the strength of those qualities to build on. The material and scientific gap, left through the devastation of the West and Russia, would be filled up at a speed not flattering to Western or Russian self-esteem. What would the moral scar be?

I think we can already answer that question, for we too have, as I said at the beginning, witnessed horrors and assisted at them. Most of us don't live constantly in the presence of Hiroshima and Auschwitz: the memory doesn't prevent us getting morally concerned about the fate of one murderer or cross because a lonely and impoverished old man doesn't have enough calls from the District Visitor.

It would be just the same if the Northern hemisphere became more or less destroyed. Men elsewhere would not live under that shadow; they would be busy with their own societies. If those societies were less fair and morally sensitive than ours is now, they would soon catch up. Within a bizarrely short interval, after hundreds of millions of people had been incinerated by H-bombs, men in countries unaffected would be passionately debating capital punishment. It sounds mad, but it is the kind of madness which makes human beings as tough as they are, and as capable of behaving better than they have so far behaved.

SO there remains a sort of difficult hope. As long as men continue to be men, individual man will perceive the same darkness about his solitary condition as any of us does now. But he will also feel occasional intimations that his own life is not the only one. In the midst of his egotisms, pettiness, power-seekings, and perhaps the horrors these may cause, he will intermittently stretch a little beyond himself. That little, added to the intelligence and growing knowledge of the species, will be enough to make his societies more decent, to use the social forces for what, in the long sight of history, are good ends.

None of it will be easy. As individuals, each of us is almost untouched by this progress. It is no comfort to remember how short human history is. As individuals, that seems just an irony. But as a race, we have scarcely begun to live.

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2. THE MAN OF THE FUTURE . . *by Philip Siekevitz*

WHILE I am among the last to believe in the scientific pre-eminence of Vannevar Bush, I do think there is validity in his recent remark that if he were a youth again, and beginning his scientific career, he would become a biologist. What he had in mind was that the next great area of revolution in science would be biology. He is right and wrong. It is generally believed that we are going through a period of tremendous discovery in physics and allied sciences, but that is not quite so. We are going through a technological revolution, based on discoveries and re-evaluations of a generation or two ago. At the same time, a real measure of revelation has been taking place in biology right under Dr. Bush's nose. I suggest that what has been learned in the last three decades about the nature of living beings dwarfs in extent of knowledge any comparable period of scientific discovery in the history of mankind. And, in a couple of generations, perhaps within the lifetime of many of us, the large-scale applications of these discoveries will be made to human social life. This great adventure takes place within the cell.

What is a cell? For many years it was thought to be a bag of jelly-like substance in which floated several bodies, notably the nucleus. Today we know it as a beautifully structured thing, made up of various bodies, of canals and vesicles, of small particles and amorphous material, all arranged and organized as if there were a definite reason for their existence and their placement. We understand the functions of some of these intracellular structures, and therefore we are beginning to learn the relationship between arrangement and function in the cell.

Any cell will do — the structure of that one-celled animal, the amoeba, is not much different from the cells of the human liver or kidney. Is that not a surprising turn of events? But still more surprising is the fact that the functioning, the biochemistry of, say, a yeast cell is quite the same as that of a rat liver cell. The same chemical reactions occur, the same foodstuffs are broken down and used for energy, and the same products are formed. From a biochemical viewpoint all cells are so alike that a biochemist working with one type of cell has found it advantageous to translate his findings *en bloc* to another type of cell. Even plant cells and bacteria behave more similarly than not to animal cells.

FOR ABOUT a hundred years the biologists have accepted the theory that the cell is the structural and functional unit of the living world, as protons and electrons were thought to be the structural units of the inanimate world. With advances in knowledge, the physicists found quite a number of apparently more basic units, but the biologists have only become more secure in their beliefs. The metabolic, the chemical, functioning of all cells studied so far is so strikingly similar that we can only conclude that the complex efficiency of the cell was perfected very early in the history of life and that during the subsequent evolution of forms this pattern was repeated over and over again, being only modified here and there as the evolving organism demanded. We biochemists take this for granted, but sometimes, in quiet moments, we sit back and wonder. I can show you electron micrographs of some small intracellular bodies, the mitochondria, as they are found in an amoeba and in the cells of various organs of the rat. There is no doubt, the topography is almost duplicated. We know a good deal about the chemical functioning of these bodies in mammalian cells; and — such is our faith in the orderliness, in the unity, of the universe — we *know* that the bodies in the amoeba have the same chemical functions, without anyone having as yet performed the experiments.

How goes a cell? A cell, or an organism, uses food for two purposes: to obtain energy and to build up its own substance. Now that we know most of the facts, we can exult in the simplicity with which nature has combined these two goals into one process. The carbohydrates, proteins and fats that we eat, most of it in the form of giant molecules, are broken down into much smaller molecules, and most of these smaller molecules can be interconverted into one another. Thus, the cell contains a pool of many compounds, indistinguishable as regards their origins, and these are the raw products it draws on to synthesize its own compounds. In other words, when a growing child eats meat, it does not add the proteins of this meat to its increasing mass. Instead, the organism first breaks this protein down, and then from the fragments it synthesizes the specific protein molecules of this child. By breaking down the foodstuffs, the cell has produced an environment in which it is easy to synthesize what the body needs, more or less independently of what the body eats.

In many cases the same compound is metabolized in various ways, to supply different products which will be rebuilt into different big molecules. We now know of several switch points where the same compound can be diverted into one channel or another. At first we are confused by these apparently meaningless reactions, but then we see, with awe, that this scheme is the one by which finished products can be converted to other finished products in the minimum number of reactions. Furthermore, and this point is probably the most important, in a scheme where the breakdown products are all alike, it is comparatively easy to control what gets broken down and what gets synthesized. The cell has only to impose regulatory mechanisms at several key points and it has a means of insuring orderly growth.

How goes a cell? The cell cannot use heat for energy, but what it does use is chemical energy. We take a candle and burn it, at both ends if we wish, and we obtain energy in the form of heat and light. The cell

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uses, among others, a similar substance, fat, and burns it in a controlled series of reactions. What we obtain by burning our fat is some heat, to keep our body temperature up, and lots of chemical energy. This latter is stored in certain compounds; stored in such a way that biologically it is universally usable. The energy gained in the burning of fat can be used for our muscle movements, in the synthesis of more fat, or in the synthesis of carbohydrate or protein. And the energy obtained by the burning of carbohydrate or protein can be used in muscle movement or in the synthesis of fat; any combination will do. Thus, in addition to the pool of breakdown products, there also exists a common pool of energy, which is obtained by the oxidation of any of the foodstuffs, and which is available to the cell for all kinds of purposes.

THE concept is not too surprising. We use many energy sources—water, coal, oil, etc. — to obtain electrical energy. In the physical universe energy is interchangeable, and in the cell energy is also interchangeable through the medium of a common chemical compound. Again, this drawing together into a few compounds of all the energy stores of the environment simplifies distribution and control. It has come to the point where biochemists, looking into the synthesis of a biological compound, will ask if the reaction needs ATP, the biologically usable energy compound (ATP is short for adenosine triphosphate). Scientists believe in the unitary hypothesis: if there is more than one way of doing something, nature will select one and exclude the others; and if another problem comes up which requires the same sort of process, again nature will use only this one way to solve the problem. Even so, biochemists are repeatedly surprised by the brilliant rigidity with which nature sticks to a successful formula, and we exclaim, "What, is ATP needed again?" Which perhaps only proves that good scientists are ever young in heart and delight to be surprised.

How goes a cell? If we try to perform the cell reactions in a test tube, we will in most cases need to apply quite a bit of heat to get them started. The cell uses instead certain chemical compounds called enzymes, which can stimulate reactions by using, not heat energy, but the energy which originally made these enzymes into a certain specified chemical structure. Furthermore, the configurations are quite different in different enzymes, so that each enzyme catalyzes only one, or one type, of reaction. Here again efficient nature has made compounds, enzymes, through which other compounds are broken down or built up, and at the same time has so constructed these enzymes that the specificity of chemical reactions is due to their unique chemical structure. One specific enzyme; one specific chemical reaction. We can go further and say that there is evidence that: one specific gene; one specific enzyme. In other words, the genes, those compounds which reside in the chromosomes of the cell nucleus and which direct the heredity of the cell, do some of their work by controlling the synthesis of specific enzymes.

WE NOW know hundreds of distinct reactions through which one compound is converted into another. We know also the properties of many of the enzymes which catalyze, individually, these reactions, and we have even crystallized many of these large enzyme molecules so that they are as chemically pure as table salt. These enzymes are proteins and as such are composed of about twenty different amino acids, the numbers of such amino acids varying in the different proteins from about one hundred to about several thousand. Since each enzyme can catalyze only one reaction, and since all proteins contain these same twenty different amino acids, it must be that every protein has a distinctive arrangement of these amino acids in its molecules. Recently, the almost insuperable task of determining this arrangement has been completed for one protein, that of insulin.

When we know the arrangement of amino acids in many more proteins, both enzymes and protein hormones, we may be able to tell why these large molecules behave as they do. The biochemist is thus at some sort of a brink. Once he knows the exact structure of many individual proteins and many individual nucleic acids; once he knows how a specific protein is made through the mediation of a specific nucleic acid — once he sees even a glimmer of an answer to these questions, he will be ready to ask one of the most mysterious, wonderful questions of all: what controls the differences between one cell and another, one organ and another, one being and another? And then he will be at the point of altering the metabolic traits and the heredity traits of the cell, of the body, almost at will. I say, "ready to ask a question," because once the scientist knows enough to ask the right question, he has not much difficulty coming to a meaningful answer.

We are still left with many important problems. What determines the size and shape of a cell, of a specific tissue, of an organ? What determines the proportion of the broken-down foodstuff that will be used to maintain the cell, to create more compounds, more material for new cells, larger tissues? How does heredity work; what is the function, in chemical terms, of the gene? How does development proceed from the fertilized egg to the beautiful, multi-organed beast that we are? And, of course, how do nerve cells work, individually, and on a cellular-society level? These are such dark deposi-

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tories of ignorance that you would think we could never hope to crawl out of our cave. But most of our present knowledge about the chemical pathways of metabolism has been gained in one generation. We are like Carroll's queen; we can hardly assimilate new facts fast enough to keep up with current generalization. I shall not be surprised if in our lifetime we know in general, often in specific, terms how the body regulates its growth. And to know is to influence.

What does all this forecast? I do not suggest life in a test tube, not very soon anyway, but neither do I think I am being foolhardy when I say that man is about to change his biological environment as radically as he is now changing his physical environment. It is happening in agriculture, where the agronomist can produce almost any variety of crop, upon specification, by applying tested genetic and biochemical principles. This uncovering of the life processes goes on at a more and more helter-skelter pace; it cannot be stopped. Once man has seen the possibilities of using his brain, which is after all simply what science is, he will not be prevented from doing so. The problem is not to stop this searching, nor even to channel it, for that too will hardly succeed. The problem is to apply this newly-acquired knowledge.

Science is the result of using human intelligence upon human problems, but the by-products of scientific research have in a good many instances not been used with much intelligence. The atom bomb is the obvious, unavoidable example. I hope I have shown that the revolution going on in the biological sciences, mainly in biochemistry, will make atomic energy look like child's play. The unmistakable inference is that the possible application of this research will make the atom bomb look like a child's toy. Therefore, and more urgently than ever, we need a revolution in our political and social institutions to cope with these findings. I am only an off-and-on science fiction fan, but in very few of the stories which I have read have I noticed that political and social change takes place along with the changes in the physical and biological milieu. And I am afraid that unless these changes do take place we have no future as a race.

I do not advocate rule by a scientific elite, but I would like to see some intelligence brought to bear on the running of human affairs. A big order; I am the millionth to say so; we can all laugh sardonically, it is a typical intellectual joke. But it is not a joke that we are about to leap off this planet, our home; that we are about to change the planet, its very geology, its very living ecology; that we are even about to learn how to change ourselves.

We cannot live through these revolutions, we cannot govern ourselves intelligently, unless we as a species agree on the future purpose of man himself. For I think that we are approaching the greatest event in human history, even in the history of life on this earth, and that is the deliberate changing by man of many of the biological processes. Already we can very easily produce mutants in bacterial strains; we will soon be able to control these changes; and I have shown that it is not a big jump from bacteria to plants, to animals, or to man himself. As a test and for a start, we will soon plan the genetic composition of future generations of bacteria. We are on our way to controlling the attacks on mankind by the other biological classes of this planet, by bacteria, by viruses, by insects; we will learn in due time to control the so-called inherent degenerative ravishments of our species. With all the knowledge thus gained, we will be able to plan ahead so that our children will be what we would like them to be—physically and even mentally. At that point, man will be remolding his own being.

Theologians will protest, but it is certainty itself that man will play God. For if man's brain can conceive of a God, it can conceive of the workings of this God. And if we have this most miraculous of the instruments of the universe, why should we not use it? Then, like the God of the theologians, it becomes essential that man should have a purpose in mind —a concept of the future to give meaning to his fateful moves. Events in biological research are happening so rapidly that we will soon have to answer a new question. No longer, what creature is man? But what creature should he become?

The Wave of November . . *by Harry Barnard*

Chicago

"IT HAS BEEN one of the most nonpartisan Congresses in years," Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic Majority Leader of the Senate, was quoted as saying in the closing moments of the Congress just adjourned. The amiable and able Texas Senator undoubtedly intended this as a pat on the back for himself and for his fellow Texan, Speaker Sam Rayburn, who ran a "nonpartisan" House.

But lots of Americans will see it another way. A "nonpartisan" Congress is not likely to advance the welfare of the people very much, especially when at the same time the President can certainly be described as "most nonpartisan."

This sweetly polite behavior may be all right in periods of political doldrums — if such times ever really exist — but nobody can possibly argue that America is in that situation today. On the contrary, crisis

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continues to be piled on crisis. Troops in Lebanon; troops for a time even in Arkansas (and maybe again); warships and air squadrons maneuvering around Formosa; inflation still rampant, along with unemployment that just escapes disaster figures; U.S. leadership in world affairs so shot that even Latin Americans are openly contemptuous; the basic areas of education, transportation, housing and even national defense unattended, not to mention the enforcement of Supreme Court decisions on integration—all these matters are in a state of painful strain that calls for action.

It should not be forgotten, even if it is trite to say so, that in a democracy policy and decisions on major questions cannot be made unless alternatives are strongly presented. The public has to be given choices. And this means a strong opposition to the Administration; in short, the healthy working of our two-party system. But that is not the way of a "nonpartisan" Congress.

Typical, I think, of how deep the 85th Congress sank into the apathy of nonpartisanship was Speaker Rayburn's incredible snubbing of Wisconsin's Representative Henry S. Reuss, during the pitifully brief debate last July over the sending of marines to Lebanon. Congressman Reuss, a liberal Democrat worth watching, had risen, as was his right and his duty, to question the military intervention and to suggest (recalling Korea) that President Eisenhower had in effect violated his pledge that no such action would be taken without a warning to Congress in time for debate as well as consultation. Yet, though often affectionately (and often deservedly) known as "Mr. Democrat," Speaker Rayburn so far forgot democratic tenets as to snap: "In times like these we had better allow matters to develop rather than make remarks about them."

THIS was the signal from on high for "nonpartisanship" on this crucial decision as complete as any one-party dictatorship could wish. No wonder that, except for critical remarks from a handful of other liberals in both houses, notably Senators Humphrey and Morse, there was no Congressional debate at all on the Dulles-Eisenhower action on Lebanon — as there has not been on any phase of U.S. foreign policy. This performance may be a tribute to the disciplinary ability of the two Texas gentlemen, but it's not democracy. It's not even Democratic. And it's not good for America.

This Congress had good points. It clearly was not the "failure" that David Lawrence screamed about in *U.S. News and World Report*. The more-and-more-hysterical Mr. Lawrence proclaims that all was lost because the 85th Congress did not pass the Jenner-Butler bills, did not adopt Congressman Walter's proposal to set aside the Supreme Court decision limiting the State Department's authority to deny passports, did not repeal the Supreme Court decision against state-sponsored "subversive" hunts, and did not enact into law Senator McClellan's (and Senator Goldwater's) archaic views on organized labor.

These very omissions are what made the record of the 85th at all palatable, and Messrs. Johnson and Rayburn here deserve credit for good legislative sense. The Congress should be thanked, too — with personal credit going to Senators Anderson, Humphrey and Morse, and to Representatives Holifield and Porter — for the fact that Admiral Strauss was forced off the Atomic Energy Commission. Also that the Administration at last has agreed to halt further testing of nuclear weapons. These are no mean achievements.

Nevertheless, the 85th was crippled by nonpartisanship, and it looks as though that malady would soon be cured. Come November, a new Congress will be elected and, except for a few places, the results seem fairly certain right now. They will add up, I think, to something approaching a Democratic landslide.

California's primary last June was the big tip-off. In California cross-filing turns the primary into an election preview, and the fact that Attorney General Edmund G. (Pat) Brown, Democratic nominee for governor, could so overwhelmingly top Senator William Knowland's bid for the Republican nomination — drawing 600,000 more votes than "the Senator from Formosa" — undoubtedly means that California will be Democratic in November — and most of the nation too.

This trend is disputed by no licensed observer that I know of, except the ghost writers for President Eisenhower and Republican National Committee Chairman H. Meade Alcorn. In view of the obvious political realities, which find *The Wall Street Journal*, Professor Raymond Moley and *The Nation* all in unusual agreement as to their meaning, if not as to their desirability, the President's vision of a coming Republican victory has as much validity as his comment that "the Republican Party is . . . not a sectional party." That was the prize historical blooper of the year, even for Mr. Eisenhower, because sectional is precisely what the Republican Party has been all its one hundred years.

IT COULD be, of course, that the President's remark was calculated, and linked to the statement that he preferred "slower" progress toward integration in the Southern schools. He may still hope, as did Rutherford B. Hayes, that the Republican Party will leap its sectional bounds by reviving the old Whig elements in the South. But that is not in the cards in any foreseeable future, especially since what Eisenhower *did* at Little Rock last fall will overweigh for a long time in the South what he may now *say* in private to *Newsweek*, or in public before the White House press corps.

Besides, Eisenhower is not likely to have much influence on the coming elections. Not even the party managers pretend any more that he will. Once they had hopes that Ike would do for their party what FDR did for his. (We shouldn't forget, rueful though it may be to recall, that Mr. Walter of Pennsylvania was dragged into Congress on Roosevelt's coattails.) Now more than a few Republican managers say out loud that the President will be a handicap to their local tickets.

Even without sputnik, which punctured beyond repair the myth that our General-President was by himself some kind of insurance for

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Fitzpatrick: St. Louis Post-Dispatch

national military security; even without the "imprudence" of Sherman Adams, which similarly punctured the legend that Republican politicos are somehow purer than the Democratic variety, Eisenhower's political potency was failing badly. That his personal popularity, based largely on his image as a man devoted to peace (which I think is still true and a fact that should be cheerfully and gratefully acknowledged by everyone, regardless of party), would not rub off on Congressional candidates became quite apparent in 1956, when the Democrats gained control of both chambers of Congress.

WITH recession plus inflation (which makes the average housewife more bitter against the Administration with each trip to the supermarket) the major factor on the domestic scene, and with the obvious collapse of Dulles' policies the major factor on the international scene, it is easy to see why Republican office seekers feel let down by the White House.

So the G.O.P. goes into the coming campaign without any real leader. Mr. Nixon will probably try to fill this role, but I think it plain that he also has slipped lately, despite that Alsopian "liberal" build-up in the *Saturday Evening Post*. He was also a casualty, at least a wounded bystander, of the California primary, for he was plainly if discreetly in Knowland's corner.

What seem to be in store are the most decisive Congressional elections since 1946 when, for the first time since 1930, the Republicans gained control of both the House and the Senate. Tired of the emotional stress of the Franklin Roosevelt era (also bereft of FDR's magnificent leadership); wearied, too, of all the war controls, the country then showed it wanted a rest as well as a change. And that seems a fair historic judgment, despite President Truman's victory in 1948 which, I think, was really an accident of personalities — his and Dewey's.

The nation has now had its rest from positive leadership, if not from issues. It has also discovered, I think, that despite Eisenhower's preference (lately much soft-pedaled) for the phrase, "Modern Republicanism," he and Republicans still close to him do not really believe in it.

True, the Eisenhower Administration has sanctioned, and even helped to conserve, many of the Roosevelt-Truman reforms. It has certainly not acted to repeal any of them. In using some to cushion the impact of the recession, the Republicans have even talked, as Carl Dreher recently commented in *The Nation*, as if they had invented instead of opposed them. Now they call them "built-in stabilizers" of "people's capitalism," rather than "totalitarian schemes" for "the doom of free enterprise." But the New Deal advances were of the 1930s, and this is the second half of the 1950s, a whole epoch later. So the Eisenhower Administration and Republicans in general, while not eliminating the New Deal reforms, still think in terms a generation behind the times.

Having reason for some time to suspect Ike's "modern Republicanism," it is no wonder that voters, not only in California, but also in New York, Wisconsin, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio and perhaps even Arizona and Illinois, will be sending an increased number of Democrats to Congress in November. More than that, they will be sending liberal Democrats—even from Texas.

The most restrained predictions are that the 86th Congress will see at least thirty more Democrats in the House and eight or nine more Democrats in the Senate. Some observers say the Democratic majority in the House will jump by sixty.

Even without the increased Democratic majorities, the next Congress will be greatly improved by certain retirements, voluntary or otherwise. The facts that Senator Jenner of Indiana has given up the ghost, to be missed only by the most reactionary clique in Washington, and that Knowland is leaving Washington to run for governor (and defeat, as I have suggested), will in themselves produce a much superior Senate. But the Democratic majorities will make the big difference.

IN SOME cases, new Democratic victories will mean getting rid of other rightist Republicans almost as bad as Jenner and Knowland. Even if this does not mean replacing them with liberal Democrats, the gain will still be great.

It will certainly be a boon to have Mr. Hogan as Senator from New York instead of Mr. Keating, even if Mr. Hogan is more of a regular party man than a liberal. That the Democratic leaders in New York passed over both Mr. Finletter and Mr. Murray strikes me as further evidence of the coming victory in November. It means the politicos smell a fair wind. When victory is in the air, intellectuals and independents aren't so welcome at the top of the ticket.

Certainly, too, it will be a gain if Senator Goldwater, with his 1890 mind, is replaced by ex-Senator McFarland. My hunch is that Goldwater's effort to capitalize on his position on the McClellan Committee and run, in effect, against Walter Reuther will backfire on him. Surely, many voters down there in Arizona will see that this Goldwater gimmick is of no relevance to Arizona's interests. It looks, too, as if Senator Potter of Michigan will be defeated — also some members of the Michigan delegation in the House — if only because Michigan is the state hardest hit by the recession.

In Wisconsin, young William Proxmire seems destined to be returned to the Senate. This won't add to the number of Democrats, but another victory for him, and the election of other Democrats from that state,

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would be nonetheless important. In particular it would mean that Wisconsin, the state of the LaFollettes, had at last redeemed itself from the still puzzling and disgraceful McCarthy lapse.

Only when the two parties are closely matched can the rightist coalition, so effective in behalf of the oil interests, the anti-labor forces and the generally reactionary elements of the land, flourish. The reactionaries, Democratic as well as Republican, understand this. Thus, back in November, 1956, *U.S. News & World Report* frankly consoled its readers over the failure of Eisenhower to carry with him a Republican Congress by saying: "When it comes to action, however, 'conservative' interests will be protected by the informal coalition of Southern Democrats and Northern Republicans that has asserted its supremacy at critical moments since 1938."

With a substantial Democratic majority in both chambers, real debate, over real alternatives on foreign policy, education and the other big issues can be expected. A renaissance of liberalism may result, one firmly rooted in popular support.

Some of the Democratic leaders do not want this — in fact seem embarrassed by the possibility. For example, Arthur Krock reported in his *New York Times* column last June that certain leaders at a dinner honoring Mr. Truman so expressed themselves. Mr. Krock explained this seeming political incongruity — it would take some explaining to the Democratic workers out in the precincts! — by observing that a surplus of Democrats in Congress would give the leaders the task of preventing "disorder" in the legislative program.

BY "disorder" Mr. Krock means a liberal program. In his words: "With a runaway majority, swelled by extremists and eager beavers from the Midlands and the West, both Rayburn and Johnson would have to develop different strategies of leadership in order to hold their lines, make an orderly legislative record, and help to stave off or minimize the split in 1960 that already is in the making."

Later, probably because of the presence of Mr. Stevenson and Governor Harriman at that dinner, Mr. Krock issued a disclaimer. But I do not doubt that his column did reflect what certain important Democrats fear. Quite certainly, the Southern wing of the party wants no increase in Northern Democratic power.

Of course, what they fear is precisely what ought to happen. It can mean the very thing necessary for ridding the party once and for all of the deadening influence of the Byrds, Eastlands, Griffins and Faubuses, and for making the kind of liberal record that can capture the Executive branch in 1960. Without that kind of record, the Republicans may retain the Presidency, though not necessarily with Nixon. This would prolong the era of relaxation from a Roosevelt kind of leadership, and America has had quite enough of that sort of vacation for either national security or national progress.

The Lord and John Foster Dulles . . *by Charles F. Edmundson*

BEFORE entering politics, Secretary Dulles was a prominent layman of the Presbyterian Church and active in The National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. As Secretary of State he has placed great stress on "moral and spiritual values" in foreign relations. But several denominations, including his own United Presbyterian Church, have sharply criticized his international policies — precisely on moral and spiritual grounds. Resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Pittsburgh last June contained, as *Time* remarked, "some remarkably tough criticism of Presbyterians Eisenhower and Dulles."

Although one timid delegate objected that "people will think we are pinko," the churchmen voted overwhelmingly for "coexistence." Mr. Dulles regards this as a dirty word, even when prudently linked with the adjective "competitive," as approved by President Eisenhower. The Presbyterian Assembly said bluntly:

> A false and baneful doctrine is being persistently proclaimed, namely, that in the present world situation there are only two alternatives, either victory over the new Communistic powers, or the annihilation of the traditional democracies. There was a time when Christians and Moslems fervently held that one group or the other had to be totally vanquished by force. But eventually they learned to live in the same world. At a later period in history, Protestants and Roman Catholics thought that one side or the other had to be wiped out. But the time came when they, too, learned to coexist as they do today. . . . So, while still striving for the freedom of all men, we today must coexist with Communist nations. In this nuclear age, the only alternative to coexistence is coextinction.

The resolutions did not refer directly to a summit meeting with Russia, but the wording left no doubt that the Assembly favored it:

> Wisdom teaches that in the pursuit of human understanding there can be no substitute for personal encounter. Estranged people must meet one another; they must talk to one another and strive to understand one another. They must probe the causes of their alienation. They must overcome enmity and distrust by the sharing of goods, knowledge and human resources for the welfare of mankind. When men who profess the Christian religion make no adequate provision for a face-to-face encounter with their enemies, they betray the religion which they profess. Yet in human tensions today, nations con-

CHARLES F. EDMUNDSON is now completing a book which will bear the title of this article.

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tinue to talk at one another and about one another, instead of talking with one another. This is one of our greatest perils.

The assembled Presbyterians accused the United States Government of "international hypocrisy [which] should be abhorrent to Christians . . . .":

> Our fathers' concept of *freedom* is also being debased. . . . We must be deeply disturbed by the contemporary myth of the *free world*. This nation counts among its allies some nations which are in no sense free. By our actions we proclaim to the world that lands where human freedom is utterly dead can qualify for membership in the *free world* simply by supplying military bases or strategic commodities. This kind of international hyprocrisy should be abhorrent to Christians, and in its presence the Church dare not keep silent. In the effort to achieve a posture of power, our nation must not ignore the suppression of God-given human rights in any land. We call therefore for a reappraisal of the current concepts of *freedom* and the *free world*.

Seldom before in American history can a leading religious body have officially denounced American foreign policy in such strong terms. From the quiet of the academy a few men like Arnold Toynbee had warned that the West was losing the "spiritual initiative" to communism. But here the speaker was the governing body of the church to which both President and Secretary of State themselves belonged.

Secretary Dulles was disturbed. He obtained copies of the resolutions before they had been officially published, and conferred with Dr. Edward Elson, Minister of Washington's National Presbyterian Church, where President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles (following the example set by seven other Presidents and seven other Secretaries of State) have regular pews. Dr. Elson ascertained that the resolutions were put in final form by Robert Cadogan, editor of *Presbyterian Life*, after written suggestions by ninety-nine persons. Dr. Elson indicated that in his opinion the force of the resolutions was qualified by the fact that, some years before, Mr. Cadogan had been a Quaker.

After two months of mixed indignation and indecision, the Board of Elders at National Presbyterian passed resolutions defending their two distinguished fellow-members against the criticism lodged at Pittsburgh. These have not been published but their tenor is known.

"Those resolutions at Pittsburgh," says Perry Morton, one of the elders and an Assistant Attorney General, "were pre-Job, going back to the time when God used the Assyrians to afflict the Israelites."

The Presbyterian Assembly has not been the only religious body to reprimand the State Department. Two months earlier, the Methodist Council of Bishops, meeting in Miami, had said:

> When our major concern is defense . . . we may survive for a time but we shall never win the war for the minds of men. The restless millions of the world await positive proposals that express our idealism and are designed to establish lasting peace, continuing economic justice and abiding racial brotherhood. We are well aware of the duplicity of Communist leaders . . . but we play into Communist hands when we identify our humanitarianism with national self-interest.

The Catholic Church has in effect, if not in words, rebuked Secretary Dulles for his friendly tolerance of dictatorships in South America. *Time* has quoted a "high Vatican spokesman" as saying: "Experience has taught that a system of freedom is in the end best for church interests. Any privilege that may be gained through a dictatorship is soon more than offset by hatred against the church." This policy, *Time* said, "is rooted in the Vatican's conviction that dictatorships and poverty breed Communism."

Although the facts would appear to justify it, no church group (so far as this writer knows) has voiced an indictment of Secretary Dulles for an un-Christian readiness to resort to war. An irresistible urge to employ such phrases as "going to the brink" and "massive retaliation in places of our own choosing" hardly seems to comport with the teachings of the Prince of Peace. Martin Agronsky raised this question with Mr. Dulles in an NBC television interview, on September 15, 1957. Before the interview was over Secretary Dulles had all but made a preventive warrior of Jesus Christ. Agronsky asked whether it was not "impossible to reconcile the Christian ethic and the doctrine of massive retaliation."

> SECRETARY DULLES: I don't agree with that at all. You quoted one verse out of the Bible and I will quote another one. Jesus said: "I came not to bring peace but a sword."
>
> You can't take detached fragments out of the Bible and build a whole . . .philosophy just on an isolated sentence. . . . [Jesus] didn't preach against war. There is plenty of war going on in the world today, and in his day. . . . He didn't go in for that type of thing because he talked certain basic principles and left it for people to apply them as best they could. . . .

Mr. Dulles did not point out that the context of "I came not to bring peace" shows clearly that it is figurative language. Succeeding verses make this plain: "And a man's foe shall be they of his own household. He that loveth father and mother more than me is not worthy. . . ."

In testifying before a closed session of the House Appropriations Committee on April 28, Mr. Dulles seemed to explain why he is willing to go so far toward risking the outbreak of war. The testimony, given in executive session, was made public two months later. According to *The New York Times* of June 27, Mr. Dulles said:

> I think we would win a hot war, and I do not know if we will win this "cold war" or not. It depends on whether we have an adequate program. . . . But as far as the defense of the principles and ideals for which this country has stood from the beginning and to which it is dedicated, those are, I think, in greater jeopardy from a cold war than from a hot war.

It might appear that Secretary Dulles would prefer a hot war as the form of conflict which, in his judgment, we are more likely to win. His Christian impulses, it should be noted also, have not prompted him to urge adherence by the United States to the anti-genocide conven-

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tion of the U.N., although fifty-odd other governments have signed.

One leading churchman, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, has charged in an article for *The New Leader* that "Dulles is not always careful of the truth, for he has recently accused the Russians of breaking a Geneva promise on the unification of Germany which they never made." Walter Lippmann and others have also called Mr. Dulles on this point.

In a plainer case of laxity with the truth, Secretary Dulles charged in a speech at San Francisco that "Communist China took Tibet by force." Yet China has claimed suzerainty over Tibet since the Manchu Dynasty. So long as Chiang Kai-shek held the mainland, the United States actively supported China's claim to Tibet. In 1947 the State Department refused to admit a Tibetan trade delegation until the members could produce Chinese passports. In 1950, Tibet appealed to the U.N. for aid against China, but the United States would not support the bid.

Mr. Dulles enjoys one important advantage over his moral or religious critics. Much of the American press is as ready as is Secretary Dulles himself to condone diplomatic hypocrisy and tricks of propaganda. There have been, for example, almost no editorials against lumping all of America's assorted "allies" together under the term "free world." Stories which would point up the extent to which the subjects of some of our allies are not free get little notice. For example, stories about the slave labor camps conducted jointly by the Portuguese and the South Africans in the South African gold mines, are printed in some Continental newspapers but rarely in the United States. In a story illustrated with photographs, the Paris newspaper *Le Figaro* said on May 22:

> The gold mines of Johannesburg employ about 400,000 Negroes. These men live in the camps, without their families, in the immediate proximity of the mines. Wages are very low, about 180 francs [43 cents] so the recruitment of labor is difficult. To fill the need, methods rather brutal but efficient are used. . . .
>
> Two hundred thousand natives are "furnished" each year by the Portuguese colony of Mozambique. A stupefying contract has been concluded with the Portuguese Government, which takes responsibility for recruitment. On a fixed day, the labor contingent is delivered and half the salary [still 43 cents a day] is paid to the Portuguese Government. A century ago that was called slavery.

By its support of Portuguese imperialism, as in Goa, the United States, becomes, in a measure, party to this virtual slavery. It is not a good way to promote belief in either American democracy or Christian morals. The average Asian or African begins to doubt that we live by the precepts we tell him so much about.

At this point the Communists bring in *their* interpretation. This was stated clearly in an interview which Nikita Khrushchev gave to William Randolph Hearst II:

> Now, as regards to God, Dulles leans on him. . . . God is but a mask those people put on. Their acts are contradictory to humanism. They lean on the Word of God and then violate it.
>
> How can we understand it when churchmen, clergymen, throw holy water on guns that are intended to kill people. Is that the highest showing of man's spirit? . . . We will fight against those feelings. You will never succeed in teaching your people to hate us through God. . . .

When the Presbyterians declared that "communism" and "capitalism" can learn to live in the same world, as Moslems and Christians learned to do, they came to the crux of the matter. The contest between communism and capitalism is, historically, a new phase of the age-old interaction of East and West.

Modern history sees the Crusades less as religious wars than as gigantic freebooting expeditions. Steven Runciman, author of the authoritative *History of the Crusades* sums up as follows:

> Enmity between Eastern and Western Christendom reached its climax in the greatest tragedy of the Middle Ages, the destruction of Byzantine civilization in the name of Christ. . . . One of Pope Urban's expressed aims in preaching the Crusades was to find some useful work for the turbulent and bellicose barons who otherwise spent their energy in civil wars at home. . . .

In the same way, the motives of the unstable fringe who today preach a holy war against communism seem confused, mistaken and politically self-serving. World progress will be served if East and West can work out their destinies in peace. In this way the Russian and Chinese civilizations may make cultural and scientific contributions as important as the great gifts of Arab culture which nursed the Renaissance at the end of the Middle Ages.

Unless some *modus vivendi* can be reached, the doleful prophecy of the exiled Russian divine, Nicholas Berdyaeff, may materialize: "We are witnessing the end of the Renaissance, and of the humanism which was its spiritual basis. Our faith in man is shaken to the foundations. This is a time of spiritual decadence, of loneliness and dereliction."

Eight years ago, when he was looking in from the outside, Mr. Dulles wrote, "It is not like us to be on the defensive and to be fearful. This is new in our history. . . . The trouble is not material. . . . What we lack is a righteous and dynamic faith. . . . Today our military leaders . . . draw a line which, like the Maginot line, we then fortify as our defense. . . . We have no affirmative policies beyond, for we cannot go further with material things."

But Mr. Dulles has gone further than his predecessors in relying on Maginot lines and material things. For such humanitarian impulses as it has shown, the Administration can thank not the Secretary of State but President Eisenhower, whose parents were members of a humble sect called the River Brethren.

Mr. Dulles appears to see Christianity as a faith which needs to confirm itself through the hatred of heretics and infidels. But the Brotherhood of Man will be achieved — if it is ever achieved — by easing human insecurities, tensions and aggressions through the emotional appeal of common humanitarian ideals. It will never be achieved through the pious belligerence of those who would make of religion a prop of the status quo.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Progress of Pasternak

DOCTOR ZHIVAGO. By Boris Pasternak. Pantheon Books. 559 pp. $5.

David Magarshack

BORIS PASTERNAK is one of the foremost living Russian poets; his novel, conceived on a vast scale and covering a period of about sixty years, including the forty years of the Soviet regime, shows the shortcomings of a work of fiction written by a man who is essentially a contemplative rather than creative artist. It has none of the moments of sudden illumination so frequently found in the works of the great Russian novelists of the nineteenth century and its dialogue is never really typical of any particular character. This was perhaps to be expected: the art of integrating character and idea is not ordinarily associated with modern poetry, and, in *Doctor Zhivago*, Pasternak uses his characters chiefly as a vehicle for conveying his own thoughts and ideas on the contemporary scene in Russia. His novel is therefore in the main a social commentary and if, in spite of that, it succeeds in engaging the sympathy of the reader for its chief characters, it is because of its many autobiographical elements, the undercurrent of genuine feelings that runs through it; also because Pasternak's poetic gifts come to the fore in magnificent descriptive passages. Dr. Zhivago's spiritual pilgrimage, his gradual development as a poet and the process of his growth to poetic maturity, fascinatingly analyzed in the book, are quite obviously autobiographical, and so is the novel's locale —Moscow and the Ural region. Pasternak, too, seeks to make good his inability to create character by his poetic insight into the animate and inanimate world. His similes, in particular, are vivid. A shadow is not black but "dark-gray like wet felt"; in winter, under the snow, the leafless branches are "thin and poor like the hairs on an old man's wart"; a blackbird whistles "as if blowing dust out of a flute"; the spring breeze "tastes faintly of newly-cut white bread"; and so on. Pasternak also makes full use of the dream element to convey the hidden, half-perceived emotional life of his characters, though not with the telling effect of Gogol, Dostoevsky or Tolstoy.

It is through his intellect rather than through his emotions that the reader's sympathy is engaged for the two lovers in the novel—Dr. Zhivago himself and the eternally feminine Lara, the girl who at the age of seventeen becomes the mistress of her mother's lover, a celebrated Moscow lawyer, then marries a future Red commissar and finally finds happiness with Zhivago. The explanation Pasternak gives of the abiding nature of their love is scarcely convincing. "They loved each other," he writes, "because everything around them willed it, the trees and the clouds and the sky over their heads and the earth under their feet. Perhaps their surrounding world, the strangers they met, the wide expanses they saw in their walks, the room in which they lived or met, took more delight in their love than they themselves did." The "perhaps" is revealing of Pasternak's past leanings toward the more puerile obsessions of the Russian symbolists which he himself condemns in his novel as "insufferably false and artificial" and "wholly out of keeping with the spirit and essence, the motivating force, of contemporary art."

BUT IF Pasternak's novel cannot compare as a work of art with the greatest Russian novels of the nineteenth century, it certainly excels them as a social document, as a work of observation of the highest order, as a fearless and intellectually honest commentary on the political situation in Russia before and after the October revolution. As a poet, Pasternak always stood aloof from the howling mob of writers who were only too eager to toe the party line. "I stand alone," he declares in the first of "the poems from a novel in prose," ascribed to Zhivago. "All else is swamped by Pharisaism." When he could no longer publish his poems, Zhivago set about translating the plays of Shakespeare. "I'm good at languages. I'm pretty sure that this sort of work will have a value in terms of money." And of course, in Pasternak's own case it had.

In *Doctor Zhivago,* Pasternak first of all lashes out against the members of his own professional classes, the educated minority who, he declares with unconcealed contempt, "quickly renounced independent ideas the moment the privileges at the top had been abolished—apparently no one ever had such ideas!" And the reason for this renunciation, the explanation of what he calls "the root of all evil," Pasternak sees in "the loss of confidence in the value of one's own opinions. People imagined," he writes, "that it was out of date to follow their own moral sense, that they must all sing in chorus and live by other people's notions, notions that were being crammed down everybody's throat. And then there arose the power of the glittering phrase. This social evil became an epidemic. It was catching. And it affected everything. Nothing was left untouched by it."

This "torrent of words, superfluous, false, murky, profoundly alien to life itself," Pasternak finds most insupportable. And more outspoken still (Pasternak, too, no doubt, was taken in by the all too premature "thaw"): "You find in practice that what they mean by ideas is nothing but words—claptrap in praise of the revolution and the regime. I'm sick and tired of it." And what of the men in power themselves, the men who have become "too conceited to be capable of normal human feelings"? "They are," Pasternak writes, "so anxious to establish the myth of their own infallibility that they do their utmost to ignore the truth. . . . They are not at home in anything except change and turmoil, they are not happy with anything that is on less than a world scale. For them transitional periods, worlds in the making, are an end in themselves. They are not trained for anything else, they don't know anything but that. And do you know why these never-ending preparations are so futile? It is because these men have not any real capacities, they are incompetent." Pasternak goes even further: "The idea of social betterment as it is understood since the October revolution," he writes, "does not fill me with enthusiasm. It is far from being put into practice and the mere talk about it has cost such a sea of blood that I'm not sure that the end justifies the means."

But what makes him really furious and "fall into despair" is to hear the perpetual Communist talk about "re-

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shaping life." The people who went on repeating that, he declares, never understood a thing about life. "They look upon it as a raw lump of material that needs to be processed by them, to be ennobled by their touch. But life is never a material, a substance to be molded. . . . Life is the principle of self-renewal, it is infinitely beyond your or my obtuse theories." And this is how Pasternak explains the curious phenomenon of the self-condemnation by Communist leaders which has been such a regular feature of the purges in the Soviet Union: "It was the disease, the revolutionary madness of the age that at least everyone was different from his outward appearance and his words. No one had a clear conscience. Everyone could justifiably feel that he was a secret criminal, an undetected imposter. The slightest pretext was enough to launch the imagination on an orgy of self-torture. Carried away by their fantasies, people accused themselves falsely not only out of terror but from a morbidly destructive impulse, of their own free will, in a state of metaphysical trance, in a passion of self-condemnation which cannot be checked once you give it its head."

OF COURSE, there was the type of revolutionary leader who was himself steeped in blood so that when he fell foul of his comrades they were either afraid of him or suspected him of knowing too much or were just out for revenge. Such a man knew that he could expect no mercy from his old comrades; that, once unleashed, the lust for blood would overwhelm him as it had overwhelmed his victims. And one of the most terrible pages in Pasternak's novel describes the frightful dilemma of such a man, the Red commander Strelnikov, known as "Rasstrelnikov" or "the executioner," a man who could not even expect to be brought to trial. "What am I saying?" he cries in despair before shooting himself. "They'll arrest me and they won't let me say a word in my own defense. They'll come upon me with shouts and curses and gag me. Don't I know how it is done?"

Pasternak's novel is full of such revelations of the human drama in a time of upheaval and it ends with a cycle of new poems ostensibly written by Zhivago. In these poems Pasternak abandons his former rather involved and obscure poetic style and achieves a lucid, compact, exquisitely wrought and wonderfully musical verse form. The translation conveys nothing of its original beauty. It is not even a travesty of the original. It is just plain murder.

Little Time and No Defense

THE GREAT ARMS RACE. By Hanson W. Baldwin. Frederick A. Praeger. 116 pp. $2.95.

THE ARMS RACE. By Philip Noel-Baker. Oceana Publications. 579 pp. $6.

INSPECTION FOR DISARMAMENT. Edited by Seymour Melman. Columbia University Press. 291 pp. $6.

WAR AND PEACE IN THE SPACE AGE. By James M. Gavin, Harper and Bros. 309 pp. $5.

D. F. Fleming

TWICE since 1914 the great powers have engaged in an arms race, for "defense" or for empire. In both cases some of them have disappeared or have been greatly debilitated — along with millions of mere human beings. The four books listed above deal with the present rush toward mutual annihilation.

Few of us like to face the issue in these terms, and one of our authors believes in some kind of survival, but together their statements give us a clear picture of a third and final world war and what we have to do to be saved from it.

HANSON W. BALDWIN, the realistic military writer of *The New York Times*, has stated the gist of the military problem in five of his newspaper articles, here revised and illustrated by tables and maps.

He faces the certainty of "tremendous" casualties and damage to us. "Neither defense system could prevent devastating raids by piloted aircraft," soon to yield primacy to the ICBM's, perhaps in 1959-61. Our geographic invulnerability has been "destroyed forever," not only by the planes and missiles but by missile-carrying submarines.

These will enable us to "hit Moscow from the Arctic Ocean, the North Sea, or the Mediterranean," but, he observes prophetically, Soviet subs might cruise under the polar ice cap, penetrate Hudson Bay "and fire missiles against our cities from a point deep in North America." He does not go on to point out that the much larger Soviet submarine fleet must be expected to be able in a few years to attack the United States from all four sides, with missiles able to reach every point in it, and to retain their fire power long after the first exchanges of mass devastation by the other weapons.

Our own capacity to kill the Soviet Union is already almost complete, with bombers alone and before our IRBM's are emplaced all around her. We have today, says Baldwin, "the theoretical capability of wiping out each prime target in Soviet Russia forty to fifty times." Though he does not question whether such gigantic over-kill capacity is uneconomic, Isaac Deutscher has reported lately that there is a debate under way in Moscow about the wisdom of following our example in this respect.

ON OUR side, says Baldwin, we have "no defense and no warning system" against ICBM's, and no attempt to dig shelters for us, at enormous expense, should be made until two questions have been satisfactorily answered: (a) would they "really be of much effectiveness, given the total disruption which is incidental to nuclear war, and the contamination of foodstuffs, of water supplies, and of whole areas that would occur"? and (b) would they divert funds from more promising projects and create a "Maginot Line mentality"?

Baldwin thinks a deliberate Soviet attack upon us "in the foreseeable future" is "a very unlikely possibility," but he is keenly aware of the danger of an accidental world war. "Are those blips moving toward our shores the real thing?" Often they have been merely

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In the Morning You Always Come Back

(From the Italian of Cesare Pavese)

The opening of sunrise
breathes with your mouth
from the foot of empty streets.
Gray light your eyes,
sweet drops of sunrise
on the dim hills.
Your step and your breath
like the dawn wind
engulf the houses.
The city shudders,
the stones have a scent—
you are life, the awakening.

Star gone astray
in the light of dawn,
rustling of the breeze,
gentle heat, breathing—
night is ended.

You are the light and the morning.

NORMAN THOMAS DI GIOVANNI

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electronic "ghosts." Yet an intercontinental exchange of ICBM's could be "triggered off by one radar which could not tell the difference between a meteorite and an ICBM."

IT NEED not be. Philip Noel-Baker has laid down in much greater detail the inevitability of our demise if the missiles go off. His chapters on biological and chemical war tell how the big powers are preparing to use both poison gas and germ warfare as means of mass destruction, in addition to nuclear fire and conventional weapons. Yet he shows that disarmament in all of these fields is practical.

That is the first great service of the book. We have not only come to accept the ever increasing burden of arms "with unquestioning, even unresentful resignation," but we have accepted the fatalistic corollary that disarmament is an impractical vision. Were there not a lot of disarmament conferences and treaties between the wars?

There were, but Noel-Baker demonstrates that they were not useless and that the records of these conferences are a mine of information about what to do now and how to do it. What is lacking is the will to put the knowledge we have to work. No one who reads this book can put it down with a feeling that disarmament is beyond our reach. It overlooks no single hurdle; all are faced candidly. No difficulty is overlooked or minimized, yet solutions are always pointed out.

Three sections of the book deal with nuclear disarmament. The whole story is here and it shows that, after years of dragging heels, the Russians went very far toward accepting a really comprehensive system of inspection in May, 1955. Then in September, the Western powers backed up and withdrew some of their proposals, alleging that the problem of secret nuclear stocks was insoluble.

This problem is "the crux of all disarmament discussions," but a penetrating chapter shows that there are various ways to solve it. The new International Atomic Energy Agency, established to promote the peaceful use of atomic energy, has a system of inspection that could be extended to the nuclear powers, which now threaten to expand steadily in number. Huge rewards for evidence of evasion could be offered and an international stock of nuclear weapons maintained. Above all, the many kinds of disarmament would all work together in interlocking fashion to promote a downward spiral of decreasing abilities to make war, and of lessening tensions and fears.

Our goal, continues Noel-Baker, must be a world-wide, multilateral disarmament treaty which aims at the abolition of all weapons of offense, even including military research—to be enforced by intensive inspection. Narrower agreements are useful, but that goal must be kept firmly in mind. The technical solutions will cause little trouble when the political decisions have been made. Are such proposals "starry eyed idealism"? No, says Noel-Baker, "they are plain, realistic common sense. The romanticists are those who still believe that modern armaments can make a nation safe."

It is difficult to praise this book too highly. It disposed of the Strauss-Teller objections to the suspension of nuclear tests before the recent East-West conference of scientists had done so. It points out all the pitfalls on the highway to disarmament but makes it plain that the road is nonetheless open to us. It is readable, exciting, authentic and also a text book for citizens and their leaders. The author, moreover, is the greatest living authority on the subject. For forty years Noel-Baker has been writing books and articles about disarmament, sitting in on the negotiations and studying the available literature. He has long been a leading figure in British politics and is currently a member of the Labour Party "shadow cabinet." It is seldom that an established authority in a field can so add to his laurels in his later life.

THE MAIN thrust of Noel-Baker's great book is strongly reinforced by *Inspection for Disarmament*. This is a study by seventeen experts of as many aspects of inspecting a disarmament agreement. Almost every conceivable technical question is examined in the individual reports and those of three "Evasion Teams," which tried to evade the measures proposed.

All of these reports are considered by Seymour Melman, a member of the Columbia University engineering faculty, in an opening survey. He finds that "every type of inspection technique has its limitations," yet some of the most dangerous war preparations are too big to be hidden, and the many different kinds of inspection which are essential would reinforce one another, giving a multiplied "combination strength."

Melman centers on the danger of concealed stocks; is deeply conscious of the dangers of accidental war, to be rapidly increased as the number of nuclear-power nations increases; and he faces all hazards. Yet he too believes that inspection can succeed at every level. "The range of workability extends from agreements of limited scope to comprehensive disarmament projects which would require rather extensive monitoring." Even partial agreements would reduce tensions and facilitate more basic agreements. Time also is short, he thinks, as ever more destructive weapons are invented and spread from nation to nation. The wind blows steadily toward destruction but, as this hardheaded manual shows, if we would reverse it only a little there could be salvation for all.

IF ANY lingering doubt about the necessity of disarmament remained in one's mind, *War and Peace in the Space Age* would quickly dispel it. This is the book which the former Army Chief of Research and Development resigned from the Army to write.

This honest, sincere patriot has testified that a nuclear attack by us on the Soviet Union would result in "several hundred million deaths" in Asia or in West Europe, "depending on which way the wind blew." Nevertheless, he assumes that war is eternal and that somehow we will pull through, not only the next one but others far into the future. After deploring the publication of his testimony about fallout he does not mention the subject again except once as a tactical problem to be overcome on the battlefield.

He looks forward to "a war in the early sixties" which "will be the first truly Earth War," with missiles used as

Ballad of the Ikendick

It was the year the IKENDICK
was sighted (hush, my pet,
for it has slewn the GAWNOSE WATT
and it is slewing yet).

It was THEOLGARD shook its head.
The NOOGARD likewise its.
And having knit a BITTAPPEASE
they raveled it to snits.

"Now what shall save us," IKENDICK
cried out, as if in thought?
"O gird about your gat, set out,
and slew the GAWNOSE WATT."

The GAWNOSE WATT it slew and slew.
Was never seen such slewage.
And GAWNOSE WATT went up the spout,
And GAWNOSE WATT went down the sewerage.

I only know the IKENDICK
slewed on and still is slewing.
(Now sleep, and may you dream of what
the GAWNOSE WATT was doing.)

JOHN CIARDI

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artillery. It is a real war to him, with some of our ICBM's dodging in and out of Rocky Mountain tunnels on railway trucks. Oblivious of the well-tested maxim that "some *bombers* will *always* get through," he dreams of knowing exactly where an oncoming 18,000-mile-an-hour missile "will be each fraction of a second during its travel, so that we can transmit instructions to our own missile exactly where in space to intercept the incoming missile."

GAVIN's belief in the coming war is closely related to his deep conviction that "we are at war now" with the Soviet Union. He has absorbed our cold-war ideology fully and has never a doubt about the world conquest aims of the Soviets and communism. Like Mr. Dulles, who keeps Lenin's works on his bed table, Gavin has complete faith in the continuing power of this dead prophet to direct events. He cites him eight times throughout the book to show that the war is inexorable.

Today we are losing the struggle. We are in "second place," says Gavin, militarily, in the minds of men and in outer space. We must exert ourselves, with some $15 billion additional each year for arms, until we are able to apply power "anywhere in the world, as the need arises, at any time. We must be able to control space, through the United Nations if possible, but if not, as an instrumentality of the West."

In other words, the arms race must go on until we have won it incontestably. And peace? On the last two pages of the book General Gavin remembered that the word was in the title and that something should be said about it, so he calls his program "A Strategy for Peace."

This is ageless military thinking. When we can impose our power on the other side then there will be peace, either by war or without it. This formula, which "the enemy" must also live by, was not fatal to civilization when the weapons were bows and arrows, or even when they were machine guns, but who can make it work in the future?

Even Gavin is a little troubled by the problem of controlling the uncontrollable. He says: "Battles today are so highly complex as to be beyond the grasp and control of all except those few skilled, highly educated and dedicated individuals who have learned how to deal with them." Unable to admit or perhaps even to see that war is hopelessly obsolete, and all military men with it, he still thinks of nuclear war as a matter of "battles" to be directed by dedicated generals, instead of a limitless chaos in which the greatest nations die a swift and agonizing death, with horrible lingering aftermaths for many citizens.

Each of these four books tells us that the major, and immediate, issue of our time is not armament but disarmament. Gavin's book makes it frighteningly clear also that we cannot get far with disarmament unless we can loosen the grip of the frozen rigidities of the cold war, relax tensions and make peace. Then everything would become possible, including even a world disarmament treaty.

Some Marrying and Some Burning

I MARRY YOU. By John Ciardi. Rutgers University Press. 44 pp. $2.75.

THE DOUBLE BED. From the Feminine Side. By Eve Merriam. Cameron Associates. 160 pp. $3.50.

Dilys Laing

THESE two books on wedlock, one from the male and one from the female point of view, demonstrate once more the irrelevance of subject matter in judging a work of art. Eve Merriam and John Ciardi, handling ostensibly the same theme, are worlds apart. The disparity is not that "little difference" which makes sex possible, but the great difference between sarcasm and sympathy, and (on the technical plane) between gifted amateur and disciplined professional.

The title of Miss Merriam's book, her comments and the publisher's claims, all lead one to expect a more consistent and more cogent work. We are given exactly what the blurb denies: a miscellany of agile comment on various aspects of matrimony. However serious the intent, the resulting texture is sketchy and discreet. Miss Merriam, a young woman of intellectual vigor and native wit, has chosen as her prototypes of form the nursery rhyme and popular ballad. Few things are more difficult, in the writer's craft, than making a serious point in a gay tone. Miss Merriam's objectives in this book are as much sociological and

DILYS LAING is the author of a novel, The Great Year, *and three books of verse:* Another England, Birth Is Farewell *and* Walk Through Two Landscapes.

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feministic as they are aesthetic. I would have no quarrel with that if manner and matter had made a successful marriage. I do not think that they have done so here. To begin with, a great deal more compression is needed. If the book had been reduced by discarding half of the ninety-five pieces and scrupulously cutting the rest, a far wittier work would remain.

The true poet that Eve Merriam is capable of being emerges in such poems as *The Moment Before Conception, Aspects of Pregnancy* and *Birth*. In these her tendency toward Joycean punning and word invention is mercifully held in check, and the nursery-rhyme model is abandoned in favor of a fairly well-controlled free verse.

It does the heart of a feminine and feminist reviewer good to come across the short section entitled *Autres Temps, Autres Moeurs*. The poems in this group are pleasant bits of table-turning on the resented male. My favorite, in which substance and style do make a happy union:

in Libya
the men curled their hair
and tended the children
and mopped the floor
and bangled their bracelets
and kept the pot-fires burning

as a matter of Libyan course

for if they did not

who would?

It is good to know once again that the intellectual woman obliged by the confusions and pressures of matrimony to work at "Home, home at the range," (to quote Miss Merriam in a somewhat McGinley mood) can sublimate her irritation in high-spirited verse. I'm afraid, however, that most of these dainties were taken from the oven too soon. They have certainly been set on the table in too great profusion.

I MOVE with pleasure (in a critical sense) to the masculine side of the double bed, though even here I find a pea or two under the mattresses. The subtitle of John Ciardi's book is *A Sheaf Of Love Poems*. There are only twenty-six of these, and the very economy makes for coherence. This is in the truest sense what Eve Merriam's book is not: an erotic work celebrating the creative principle of love in the universe. It deals with the poet's marriage both to a woman and to the world of sense and mind. There's no sarcasm here, no striving after modish and peculiar effects, but rather a steady, warm streaming forth of human feeling such as one finds in the familial poems of Victor Hugo.

Mr. Ciardi has again fluttered the dovecotes by reviewing his own book in the magazine of which he is poetry editor, an unjustifiable procedure which he tries vainly (in two senses) to justify. In that article he claims, ironically, that there is "not an Important Poem in the batch." True enough if by Important he means public, as I suppose he does. These are private poems, but by no means secret. Shelley was presumably not foreseeing the advent of John Ciardi when he wrote: "Like a poet hidden in the light of thought." There is nothing hidden about this modern lover and literary careerist. He is an overt man, sometimes painfully so, and by overlaying his reputation as a writer with disconcerting public acts as a writing man, he has put me and any of his other friends (or enemies) in a position to say so publicly.

His poems show the same lack of subterfuge, perhaps even of nuance, as his editorial deeds. Everything is stated as it arises, with a curbed vigor rather than with mystery or subtlety. This poetry is the spectrum of a whole man who, however antic he may be in life, feels in his art no need to strike literary poses.

The poet's experience in translating Dante bears fruit in the *terza rima* of the tender and witty title poem: *Men Marry What They Need. I Marry You.* He uses other forms which show indebtedness to tradition rather than dependence upon it, sometimes taking the sonnet, for instance, as a point of departure rather than as a strict mold. He uses rhyme or not, according to the needs of the poem. But here I should like to voice an objection to the obtuseness (or is it waywardness?) of the modern poetic ear toward euphony of rhyme. I find approximate rhymes such as myth-death, past-dust (and even shell-then, when not in an emphatic position) acceptable. But am I the only one who winces at sixth-transfixed and sex-directs? For me, the mating of cts with ks is like a fiber needle on an LP record. But perhaps Ciardi wants that shudder of the tympani? Or would he have us give *directs* the illiterate pronunciation *direcks*?

He is at times as good a phrase-maker as Dylan Thomas, but more sparing in his effects (effecks?). With Thomas one often cannot see the poem for the poetry. Ciardi's best images are the light issuing from the heat of his meaning. His phrases are the body, often the naked body, and not the clothing of his thought. This example is taken from a seven-part poem, *A Suite For Love*:

As earth was
whose rains hissed striking centuries
long into
hot original stone cups.

In the same poem we find:

My ten red fingers which are each a
boy
close hot as rum. Whatever chucks a
rump
I praise a-cackle in the bounce of
whee!

The first line and a half of this passage are, it seems to me, pure Thomas, the second line and a half (not very) pure Ciardi.

A Thanks That Flesh Is Sad does little for the book, I believe, that *The Stills And Rapids Of Your Nakedness*

Strangers

Each face repeats its former attitudes.
How with our glances we beset the street!
All men and women in their separate moods
Pass through the dust of wind and do not know
It is their own reflections that they meet,
So shared are feelings which we undergo.

Yet straining towards a meeting we depart
(Still fixed upon stark shadows we have grown)
The simple, present and intrinsic heart,
And feel that others move in worlds which we
Could pass as foreigners but never own:
There are more meeting-places than we see.

Stripped to the cries of children or the words
A blind man speaks who begs an alms to come,
We move in doubt and stealthily towards
Wide squares where shadows draw back from a place
Sun is set free in, and it feels like some
Room where we recognize each human face.

ELIZABETH JENNINGS

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does not do better. John Ciardi, critic, was not on guard against the sentimental poeticism he deplores in others when John Ciardi, poet, wrote in the first-named poem:

> That you were sunblush lit as the writhen
> sprays of orchards in the rush of spring.

These lines are all the more regrettable because they so closely resemble the better lines in the second poem:

> spill from my sleep like April's waking rush
> into the groundswell and green push of May.

The book's final poem: *Letter From A Death Bed* is a bit of daydreaming that might better have been left out. We are all at times rapt in visions of ourselves in shipwreck or holocaust — situations calling for the display of heroism or fortitude — but these moments are illusory and sentimental, and I do not think that a healthy man in his prime, writing love poems to his wife, ought to inflict upon her or others this wholly gratuitous view of his hypothetical exit. The poem is an insincerity and wrenches the book by the tail into a work of fiction instead of letting it remain what it is up to this point: a testament of true feeling. I do not suggest that John Ciardi ought to take at once to his death bed in order to validate his poem — but in view of the fact that he must in real life reach a point where he may be moved to compose a lament for his actual departure, I do think we shall in the end have been asked too often to weep at his bedside.

One of the great practical functions of poetry is to give voice to the voiceless. Young men have come to me complaining of the scarcity of love poetry in terms of their own speech and feeling. They do not want a kiss within the cup, Time's wingéd chariot, nor Champak odors, but the images and idioms of their own century. It seems to me that this need is being met by a number of contemporary male poets, notably Kenneth Rexroth and John Ciardi.

I Marry You deals with a marriage — a particular marriage — in such terms that all who marry, or wish to do so, may by reading it know better what they are about. It is a book that gives praise and deserves it, despite the strictures I have made.

Mathematics of the Brain

THE COMPUTER AND THE BRAIN. By John von Neumann. Yale University Press. 82 pp. $3.

Max Black

THE NAME OF von Neumann will always recall the "theory of games" and the remarkable book on that subject (written in collaboration with Oscar Morgenstern) which is one of the intellectual monuments of our time. Had von Neumann lived another decade, he might have constructed an even more important theory of computing machines. Such "artificial brains" may eventually transform our culture, but our theoretical grasp of their underlying principles is still relatively crude and unsystematic.

Unfortunately, all that von Neumann was able to leave was this outline of the ideas he had hoped to elaborate as Silliman lecturer at Yale. Though hardly more than a series of notes, these few pages are carefully composed and severely lucid. A good deal of knowledge about computing machines is presupposed: this can hardly be recommended as reading for the layman.

Von Neumann's intention was to provide "an approach toward the understanding of the nervous system from the mathematician's point of view." His plan called for surveying the design of existing computing machines in order to determine which of their features might reasonably be regarded as essential. It should then be possible to decide whether the human nervous system can be usefully regarded as a close analogue of a computing machine. An affirmative answer should generate some tentative hypotheses about the nervous system—"guesses" and "lines of attack" that "seem, from the hazy distance in which we see most of them, a priori promising." The whole would have been a large-scale exercise in speculation from analogy—a procedure that has had spectacular successes and equally spectacular failures in the development of scientific thought.

More than half of the exposition is occupied by the preliminary survey of computing machine design. The need to consider "analog" as well as "digital"

MAX BLACK is the author of The Nature of Mathematics, Language and Philosophy, Problems of Analysis *and other books. He is Professor of Philosophy at Cornell University.*

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computers (and mixed forms, too) constantly introduces complications. But von Neumann has perfect control of this mechanical jungle.

The main conclusion stressed is the need for some form of "memory register." The many alternative devices for achieving this are considered in some detail.

Von Neumann then turns to a survey of the structure and properties of the human nervous system. Can it reasonably be regarded as a kind of natural computing machine? He thinks it can: the nervous system is very like a rather slow computer, operating at a low level of precision that is compensated by a multiplicity of "organs." The brain's superiority over artificial computers is in its economical use of space and energy. (Our brains may be slow, but they occupy little room and are cheap to run.) We may therefore surmise the existence of a "memory organ" such as all artificial computers need in order to operate. Certainly this "is a matter of surmise and postulation, but one that all our experience with artificial computing automata suggests and confirms." As to the physical embodiment of this hypothetical "memory," there is a wide range of possibilities for future research to examine. The "memory" need not be embodied in distinctive physical bodies—something as abstract as the distribution patterns of nerve endings would suffice.

The book ends with some sweeping remarks about the use by the nervous system of "a radically different system of notation from the ones we are familiar with in ordinary arithmetics and mathematics." The hunch is that the brain responds only to statistical properties of the messages it receives. It would need somebody of von Neumann's caliber to reduce this suggestion to a precisely falsifiable hypothesis.

Do von Neumann's speculations lead anywhere? Neurologists will have to decide. But nobody can read this little book without poignant regret for the untimely death of its greatly talented author.

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Army Game

THE DRAFTEE'S CONFIDENTIAL GUIDE: How to Get Along in the Army. By Alan Levy, Bernard Krisher, James Kox. Indiana University Press. Paper. 244 pp. $1.95.

Eric Pearl

TOO MANY books may have been written about the Army, but none like this. The only other fairly comprehensive "how to get through it" book that I know of is the Army's own *Soldier's Guide to Personal Conduct,* which is issued to every recruit at the reception center. But the draftee who resorts to that guide for advice is doomed to perpetual discomfort and eternal military casuistry.

Only in the most far-fetched sense of the word does that publication guide. It contains detailed information on how to set up a footlocker display, how to use a knife and fork (for the uninitiated), military justice and courtesy, chains of command, codes of conduct, and what to do in case of snakebite; but, like everybody else in the Army, the writers talk down to the GI; they lack wit; and their information seems remote and irrelevant. The need for a special draftee's guide has been great, and Messrs. Levy, Krisher and Kox have filled it.

For example, one of the most awe-inspiring mysteries that the new recruit faces is "why all the mystery?" Furthermore, why all the intimidation? Why can't he be told what is going to happen to him from one day to the next? Why must he commit the mistake before learning that it is one? During most of his basic training the company seems like a gigantic maze in which he must play "under the mill" blindfolded. In order to make their jobs of "molding men" easier for themselves, the cadre conspires to keep him in ignorance, and because the recruit recognizes that he has already given up so many of his liberties, he assumes that he is not free to rebel against this latest form of tyranny.

The Draftee's Confidential Guide states in the most explicit (often humorous) terms exactly what a soldier should do and what he is really not obliged to do; what is hokum and what he must be careful about. The authors have no real secrets to impart; they teach only what the recruit will learn sooner or later by himself. In other words, they teach the rules of the game.

The Draftee's Guide contains chapters on what to expect from KP or guard duty; on rights and privileges, overseas duty, basic training, getting along with the people from supply, Army schools and the USAFI program. Perhaps most helpful of all, there is a handy glossary of Army abbreviations and slang. The book is not only a necessary compendium of the abuses to be found among the soldiery; it is also a serious and well-intentioned attempt to describe all the ramifications of an institution which is perhaps a necessary evil for the post-adolescent, but which, like acne, is not a pretty one.

THE Army brass apparently doesn't share my opinion: the publishers tell me that the book is forbidden at the PXs. I think I know why. Regular Army people are always on the defensive about their calling. They dislike showing their cards if they can help it. Thus we have troop information and education officers who have no information and who do not educate, and we have also the Public Information sections. These groups try to turn soldiering into a tightly guarded secret—to give it the status of a real profession. *The Confidential Guide* is the reply of three amateurs, all of whom are veterans, and my final reason for thinking that it should be bought and read is that the Army doesn't want you to read it.

Nowadays, when charges of Prussianization and incompetence are being leveled at the career Army, it is important, I think, to emphasize the non-professional's viewpoint. Otherwise we "landsers" will have to let the Junkers take control.

ERIC PEARL, a teacher and poet, is a veteran of the Reserve Forces Act of 1955.

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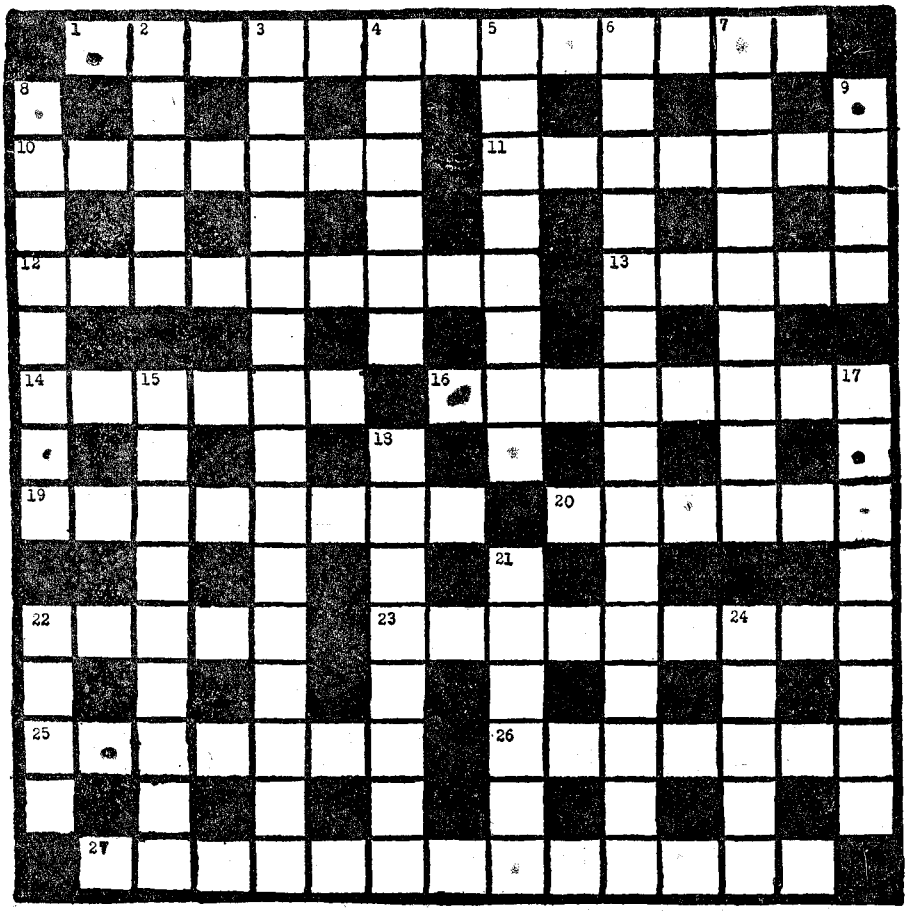
Crossword Puzzle No. 785

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 How the 26 used to collect taxes. (2,1,5,5)
10 It tops a secretary or several secretaries. (7)
11 Mix paint on a brightly colored fish. (7)
12 Go bobtail, but not alone. (9)
13 In case of a draw, draw together again. (5)
14 Liable to change (especially chemical). (6)
16 But one's horse can stop an atomic charge! (8)
19 Stride in, as a ghoul might. (8)
20 Make capital of 24 and the capital of Turkey. (6)
22 See 9 down
23 Old port, like a peg on an upright structure. (9)
25 Shakespeare created it for itself. (7)
26 See 1 across. (3,4)
27 Declining to study, though patronizing. (13)

DOWN:

2 No dance in Scotland makes much money. (5)
3 Where Kings and Queens are morally strong of arm. (4,6,5)
4 One might disclose how to beat this sort of plaid. (6)
5 Deeds a profiteer does. (8)
6 and 22 down When to hoist the ensign on the mainmast? (7,8,4)
7 Anyway, nothing is more stupid (9)
8 Trained to swim together? (8)
9 and 22 across Certainly fits the way toads live. (9)
15 Footbeat which might be painful. (9)
17 In short, it's no good to listen when disturbed by baby. (8)
18 Assigns a comfortable lower limb, by the sound of it. (8)
21 The living flesh on this implies discernment. (6)
22 See 6 down
24 Leaves the way Poe found them? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 784

ACROSS: 1 Opiates; 5 Detroit; 9 Trowels; 10 Chortle; 11 Maori; 12 Annapolis; 14 Odin; 15 Sponsor; 18 Cos; 20 Sue; 21 Entreat; 23 Gang; 26 Tarantula; 28 Watch; 29 Related; 30 Iterate; 31 Fiddler; 32 Yielded. DOWN: 2 Isopod; 3 and 16 The middle of nowhere; 4 Sustain; 5 Decants; 6 Troop; 7 Outclass; 8 Treasure; 13 Won; 17 Our; 18 and 23 down Center of gravity; 19 Startled; 22 Thunder; 24 Strand; 25 and 1 down The end of time; 27 Natal.

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